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THE EDUCATION OF THE CULTURALLY DIFFERENT, A MULTI-CULTURAL APPROACH.

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THE CULTURALLY DIFFERENT PUPIL IS DISTINGUISHED FROM THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED IN THIS ESSAY. THE SINGLE-CULTURAL ORIENTATION OF MOST AMERICAN SCHOOLS HAS CREATED EDUCATIONAL DISADVANTAGES FOR MANY STUDENTS. THE CULTURALLY DIFFERENT STUDENT WHO DOESN'T FIT INTO THE MONO-CULTURAL SCHOOL RETALIATES BY WITHDRAWAL, WHEREUPON HE IS LABELED AS CULTURALLY DEPRIVED, AND MORE PROGRAMS OF A MONO-CULTURAL ORIENTATION ARE DIRECTED TOWARD HIM. THE AUTHOR SEES THE MONO-CULTURAL SCHOOL IN A MULTI-CULTURAL SOCIETY AS UNREALISTIC AND DESTINED TO CONTINUE TO PRODUCE FAILURES AMONG CULTURALLY DIFFERENT STUDENTS. THE REMEDY, IN THE FORM OF MULTI-CULTURAL, REGIONALLY RELEVANT SCHOOLS, IS ADVOCATED. THESE SCHOOLS SHOULD BE RESPONSIVE TO THE DIFFERENT CULTURAL HERITAGE, THE DIFFERENT LANGUAGE, AND THE CULTURAL ASSETS OF THE RESPECTIVE COMMUNITIES THEY SERVE. A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY PRESENTS SOURCES ON THE EDUCATION OF CULTURALLY DIFFERENT AND LOW-INCOME GROUPS AND SOURCES DEALING WITH THE EFFECTS OF CONQUEST, COLONIALISM, AND CULTURE CHANGE. (SF)

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THE EDUCATION OF THE CULTURALLY DIFFERENT

A MULTI-CULTURAL APPROACH

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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PREFACE

Increasing attention is currently being devoted to the problems of culturally different minority populations as they relate to formal educational processes. One purpose of this essay is to distinguish the concept of the culturally different pupil from that of the "culturally disadvantaged" and to explore the manner in which the mono-cultural orientation of schools in the United States has perhaps needlessly created educational disadvantages for all pupils. A remedy, in the form of multi-cultural, regionally relevant schools, is advocated.

A second purpose of the essay which follows is to introduce the reader to some of the general arguments which underlie the multi-cultural approach to education set forth in greater specific detail in Mexican-Americans: A Handbook for Educators, Afro-Americans in the Far West: A Handbook for Educators and other works prepared by the author. In a sense, then, The Education of the Culturally Different is intended to serve as an introduction to other studies being published by the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development which focus upon specific ethnic minorities.

The field of the education of cultural minorities is a complex subject-area indeed, with vast amounts of pertinent data being produced by research in education, anthropology, sociology, social psychology, and other disciplines. Understandably, a variety of viewpoints has existed among practicing educators as well as among scholars, ranging from favoring Anglo-American controlled mono-cultural, assimilationist programs to advocating minority-operated mono-cultural, anti-assimilationist programs. On the basis of his own understanding of social science theory as applicable to education, the author has chosen the middle-ground of suggesting a multi-cultural or cross-cultural strategy combined with other procedures designed to create a school relevant to the needs, and responsive to the wishes, of a given community.

The viewpoints expressed herein are not presented as dogma but rather as the result of an individual process of analysis and judgment and as stimuli for reaction and discussion. Needless to state, these viewpoints are not necessarily those of the various organizations making the publication of this essay possible.

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The Educational Challenge of the Culturally Different and the Poor

The participation of urban Negro youths of school-age in riots from Watts to New York, confrontations between Negro parents and white school boards from Oakland to Boston, school boycotts involving children of all ages, north and south, and increased concern and agitation on the part of Mexican-Americans, American Indians, and Puerto Ricans, all have recently served to focus attention upon the problem of the culturally different and the poor as they relate to educational programs in the United States. And concurrent with this evidence of "grass-roots" dissatisfaction, the compiling of statistics and research-derived data has served to focus attention upon the "educationally short-changed" sectors of the population.

Evidence that something is seriously wrong with education as it involves racial and cultural minorities and low-income groups has been mounting for years. Decades ago, scholars such as Herschel T. Manuel and Paul S. Taylor documented the plight of the Mexican-American scholastic, but the "establishment" paid little heed. Scholars and leaders familiar with American Indians and Afro-Americans have been concerned with these groups' special educational needs for more than a century, and concern with weakness in traditional programs has been mounting for years. But it has

taken the so-called "Negro Revolt" of the last decade, the recent "discovery" of the poor, and the launching of "New Frontier" and "Great Society" programs to force educators to take a new look at old assumptions.

Major periodicals, such as The New York Times, continually reflect the growing consensus that seems to be developing among the intellectual and governmental leadership of the nation. These groups increasingly seem to agree that the major current target for educational change consists in upgrading the schooling of low-income and culturally different children. R. Sargent Shriver, director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, recently expressed remarks typical of this growing concern when he asserted that the present elementary school system was "critically inadequate to meet the needs of children of poverty." Worried about the long-term impact of "Headstart" pre-school programs apparently being frustrated by poor follow-up kindergarten and first grade teaching, Shriver noted that Headstart is "a short-term experience, and a shot of educational adrenalin whose effects can wear off in the grinding boredom and frustration of slum classrooms." The "War on Poverty" director then called for a "Project Keep Moving" to transform slum classrooms, grade by grade (The New York Times, Nov. 20, 1966, p. 1).

Similar sentiments are echoed daily by leaders of varying background. James E. Allen, Jr., New York State Education Commissioner, recently told the New York City Board of Education that it

must improve schools in the slums immediately. Later he urged educators from a number of states, assembling for a meeting in New York City, to consider the following topics (The New York Times, Nov. 28, 1966, p. 1, 42):

> What kind of schools will turn the tide of hope in the ghettos? What patterns of cooperation involving whites, negroes, business, industry, labor and government can rejuvenate slum-area schools? What can be done to assure parents in slum areas of a more meaningful role in the schools and the education of their children?

Recently a conference sponsored by the Association on American Indian Affairs Education Committee condemned the educational situation in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools. "Thousands of American Indian children in Government-run schools are becoming hopeless 'no-culture people'," they said, and their executive director, William Byler, described the situation as "criminal." Indian children are not learning anything about the positive aspects of Indian history, said Mrs. Mary Lou Payne, a Cherokee, and the Rev. John F. Bryde, Jesuit superintendent of Holy Rosary Indian Mission, asserted that there has been a drastic rise in mental health problems among Indians in recent years, partly because "he is not effectively identified with his Indian heritage, nor can he identify with the hostile, white world facing him." (The New York Times, Nov. 21, 1966, p. 38). Similarly, scholars attending the American Anthropological Association's 1966 meeting condemned current practices in poverty-area schools and called for changes which will be discussed below.

Finally, Congress and federal agencies have recognized the importance of providing better educational opportunities for the culturally different and the poor by establishing a maze of new programs of an educational nature funded through the Office of Education, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Department of Labor, the Interior Department, and the Department of Defense.

The statistics are, of course, very alarming. That 67.6 percent of Negroes are failing the Selective Service mental tests (ranging from 25 percent in Washington to 86 percent in South Carolina) is an indication of one of the practical results of educational-societal failure. School drop-out rates are another indication of failure. and these are notoriously high for American Indians (50 percent), urban Negroes. Mexican-Americans, and mainland Puerto Ricans. Although progress can be cited in recent years, the median school years completed for Indians twenty-five and older in Elko County. Nevada, stands at 7.9 years and for all non-whites in Nevada at 8.8 years (compared with 12.2 years for whites). Almost seventeen percent of the Indian adults in Elko County have never been to school while only 0.7 percent of Nevada whites are totally without school experience. More than five percent of Nevada non-whites, as a whole, have never been to school (Elmer Rusco, Minority Groups in Nevada, 1966). The average educational level (years of schooling) for American Indians nationally stands at five years (The New York Times, Nov. 21, 1966, p. 38, Dec. 4, 1966, p. 62).

As regards Mexican-Americans, Dr. Julian Samora (Southwest Conference Proceedings, April 6, 1963, p. 19) has noted that "they lag behind the non-whites and the Anglos regardless of what measure of educational achievement is used." A recent Progress Report of the UCLA Mexican-American Study Project (November, 1966) has noted that the gap between Anglo- and Mexican-Americans is narrowing but that the latter have five years less schooling if over twenty-five years of age and four years less if over fourteen years of age.

But perhaps of greater significance in illustrating the dimensions of the problem of the culturally different is the suggestion that the quality of the five to nine years of school to which they are ordinarily exposed is probably significantly poorer than that experienced by the majority Anglo-American population. Murray Wax, Rosalie Wax, and Robert Dumont in their study of education on the Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation constantly advance the thesis that although Indian children may remain in school for a certain number of years, the last few years especially are educationally worthless and psychologically destructive. A symptom of this process is "the 'withdrawal' or 'lack of response' of pupils in the late elementary grades and the high school" cited as their greatest problem by Pine Ridge Bureau of Indian Affairs teachers.

The phenomenon of gradual alienation or "withdrawal" is also a noticeable experience in slum schools. James B. Conant (Slums and Suburbs, p 26) quotes a Negro teacher as saying, "We do quite

well with those children in the lower grades . . . . But when they reach about 10, 11, or 12 years of age, we lose them. At that time the 'street' takes over. In terms of schoolwork, progress ceases; indeed many pupils begin to go backward in their studies!" I. N. Berlin (Saturday Review, Oct. 15, 1966, p. 79), in working with largely non-Anglo delinquent high school students in San Francisco, noted that "their hate for their white teachers and other staff often seemed overwhelming."

Achievement test results also demonstrate that not only are non-Anglo groups exposed to fewer years of formal schooling than are Anglos, but that the level of achievement involved is much inferior. The Berkeley Unified School District in California contrasted test results from ghetto (Negro) schools with those of white schools in 1964 and uniformly the scores in predominantly non-white schools fell far below the white schools on both third and sixth grade tests.

Thus we may assert that while minority group youngsters are being exposed to a year or two of schooling more than were their parents, it is questionable that the "educational gap," in a qualitative sense, is being narrowed. The results of Selective Service tests, in-depth studies of specific schools, and other data not cited here would tend to indicate that the "gap" is as great as ever and may, in fact, be widening for some groups. The problem presented by the education of the culturally different is still very much an issue in our society.

The "Cultural Deprivation" Response

The reaction of educators to the problem of under-achievement, alienation, and "withdrawal" as it relates to racial and cultural minority groups has been, in general, to intensify the use of traditional approaches and to focus the "blame" for failure upon the minority group. The concepts of "culturally disadvantaged youth" and "culturally deprived youth" have been coined and they serve to suggest that the minority group pupil and his family are at fault. The pupil and his subculture should be manipulated, this line of approach suggests, while the traditional school is, in effect, a finished product which has served majority group pupils well and should, therefore not be seriously challenged. Minority groups must adjust, must conform, must change while the schools and their programs are basically sound and need no fundamental revision. As Reginald W. Major, former Chairman of the Education Committee of the San Francisco NAACP, has noted (The Nation, Sept. 12, 1966);

> By accepting the premise of cultural deprivation, school administrators and school boards delude themselves and the public into believing that special programs designed to compensate for an inadequate home environment are all that is needed.

Operation Headstart, the National Teacher Corps, and "compensatory" education programs are generally based upon the above assumption: that increased exposure to any school environment coupled with an intensified remedial approach will solve or at

least ameliorate the problems of the "culturally deprived." This assumption may, however, be totally erroneous. The National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children recently reported to President Lyndon Johnson on the effectiveness of 250 million dollars worth of summer education projects aimed at the poor, and their study was reported as "gloomy."

> For the most part, projects are piecemeal, fragmented or vaguely directed enrichment. It is extremely rare to find strategically planned, comprehensive programs for change. . . .

Most of the programs

> took place in ordinary schoolhouse classrooms and were, at best, mild variations on ordinary classroom work. . . . [In a southern city] the program was as uncreative and unimaginative as I have ever seen. Pupils . . . dropped out in large numbers. Several teachers indicated that they felt that any kind of help which might be offered would not significantly change most of these kids.

Some of the programs were ingenious and sophisticated but

> the aggregate of local efforts do not yet reflect a widely accepted strategy for creating a new, more effective educational climate for disadvantaged children. (The New York Times, Dec. 1, 1966, p. 38)

It may be that those who wish to deal effectively with the culturally different child will have to revise their thinking about which end of the school-pupil continuum is "disadvantaged." Are "disadvantaged" pupils attending "advantaged" schools taught by "culturally enriched" teachers? Or is it possible that some culturally different pupils are more "enriched" than their "culturally deprived" teachers and schools, or that all are "deprived"--schools, pupils, and teachers?

"Cultural deprivation" is not a new concept. For at least a century it has been an expression of Anglo-American racism, chauvinism, and superiority. On the assumption that American Indian groups were "backward" or "savage," young Indians were taken away from their parents and indoctrinated in white middle-class cultural values. The Indian child was assumed to have no culture, except in terms of "savage" customs which had to be uprotted. The middle-class missionaries, secular or otherwise, were to civilize the aborigines by "giving" them a culture. The Waxes and Dumont (Education in an American Indian Community, Social Problems monograph, 1964) describe the use of this "cultural vacuum" doctrine as it is being applied today to both Indian and non-Indian children:

> Especially in the slums inhabited by ethnic minorities the tensions of urban schools are markedly similar to those [at Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation] . . . . Urban educators are isolated from the cultural and social milieux of their pupils, as are reservation counterparts. Knowing little of their pupil's life, and terrified or appalled by what they do discover, they justify their avoidance with a 'vacuum ideology' of cultural deficiency and deprivation which ignores or derogates the values and knowledge that the pupils have acquired in their homes and neighborhoods.

The concept of "cultural deprivation" as it has frequently been used is simply a belief that non-Anglo minority groups do not possess a "culture" which can be utilized or enhanced by the schools. The children of the minority group are "deprived" because they are not carriers of the Anglo-middle-class heritage and the task of the school is to make up for this "deficiency." Or to put it another way, the school is to be used as a device for "assimilation,"

i.e., to make the United States a homogeneous nation of multi-hued Anglo-Americans.

"Cultural deprivation," in short, is not merely an insult to the Mexican-American, Indian, Chinese-American, et cetera, but is also a continuation of the missionary urge of white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants ("Wasps") to demonstrate the superiority of their culture by making everybody else over into their own image. Is it not a form of "cultural imperialism" made possible by the sheer political and economic dominance of the Anglo-American majority?

Not all educators who seek to force the culturally different student into an Anglo middle-class mold do so, however, because of a conscious desire to implement a superiority complex or because of a compulsive monocultural prejudice. Many have simply never thought of the United States as a culturally heterogeneous nation and, secondly, assume that minority groups must conform in order to compete in an Anglo-dominant society. But the reality of American life points in a different direction. The Chinese-American who speaks only English and who has lost contact with the Chinese community is not <u>better</u> equipped to "make a living." On the contrary, he is competitively inferior to the Chinese-American who possesses a dual culture and who can operate successfully either on "Main Street U.S.A." or in "Chinatown," and this is to say nothing of the advantages that a bicultural Chinese-American has in the qualitative areas of life (access to a dual heritage in literature, philosophy, and art, for example) or in securing

academic or governmental jobs which require two or more languages.

Mono-Cultural Schools and Multi-Cultural Society

Educators seem often to operate in a mythical world created by the nature of their own middle-class contacts. Having little to do with non-Anglos or low-income people generally, they assume that the possession of Anglo middle-class skills and values will, in effect, function successfully everywhere and at every level of life. Anglo educators in much of the Southwest live, for example, in self-created Anglo oases, cut off from the Indian-Mexican reality around them. They and their fellow migrants from the Middle West or South have created middle-class spatial and attitudinal ghettos which have little meaningful contact with at least large portions of the surrounding population. But the educator fails to suspect that it may be his culture which is alien and regionally irrelevant and, therefore, he attempts to train young Navajos, Hopis, and Mexican-Americans to be middle-class Anglos. What kind of a social context will most of these non-Anglos have to make their living in? Certainly not an Anglo middle-class one!

Similarly, it is naive to assume that the majority of Afro-Americans will spend most of their time from now on in middle-class settings. Urban or rural, the average Negro is going to continue for some time to be living in essentially a Negro subculture, both in socio-cultural and economic terms. And, in any case, a Negro youth

has to maintain good relations with his family, relatives, and Negro contemporaries while growing up; and he does this, and will continue to do this, through the medium of his own subculture. The schoolman who seeks to remake the young Negro (as a century of pedagogues from the New England schoolmarm-reformer of the Reconstruction Era to the modern Anglo principal in a ghetto school have tried) must not ignore the realities of American Negro life and, above all, must not regard the Afro-American subculture as simply a tragic, but temporary, inconvenience to be gradually eliminated. Ultimately the Negro community as a whole will have more to say about this question than any group of educators, black or white.

More telling than any other argument is, however, the fact that Anglo middle-class people have had their own way for at least a century. Negroes, Indians, Mexican-Americans and other racial-cultural minorities have been guinea-pigs for "experiments" in monocultural, monolingual, "vacuum ideology," "compensatory" education for as many as five or more generations, and the record is not one to inspire confidence. What is needed today is not simply more and more of the same in greater doses (that has been tried before also) but a completely different conception of the function of the school and of its relationship to cultural heterogeneity.

In a recent article (Saturday Review, Oct. 15, 1966), Theresa M. Miller, a clinical psychologist, states:

It is obvious even to the untrained observer that when large

> numbers of children reject education and fail to learn the skills necessary for success in a society, there is evidence of maladjustment. There is some question, however, about where to find the primary patient. Is it always the child?

There are many scholars and laymen who would answer in the negative, as does Nathaniel Hickerson (Education for Alienation, Prentice-Hall, 1966).

> The inability of affluent-oriented teachers in American society to understand or cope with the behavior of children from economically deprived families is often of paramount importance in alienating those children from the public schools. It is this clash of value commitments that, more than any other factor, drives our Negro, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Indian, and economically deprived Caucasian children out of the school and into the street. . . . They have been attacked at the point of great vulnerability, their own value structure.

Hickerson goes on to describe the process of pupil failure, as he sees it. First, the child is classified as a "slow learner" and assigned to a remedial program.

> All that is needed now to complete their isolation from affluent American society is to be driven away from the schools by a frontal attack upon their own systems of self-esteem and their most powerful commitments. . . . Commitments to family is belonging to something. . . . If their customs and habits are challenged by school and teacher, the children are placed in the position of having to choose between the ways of their families and a whole new set of suppositions. . . . Either father, mother, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, grandparents, friends, neighbors and their world is right, or the world of school and teacher is right.

Dr. Eleanor Leacock of Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, after completing a study of slum education, reported that

> the staggering inequalities we have found in the New York school system are caused, in large measure, by the inadequate understanding of children from low-income groups (The New York Times, Nov. 19, 1966, p. 22).

The Waxes and Dumont state that "given the abdication of their

elders, and confronting teachers across a gulf of difference in age and culture, the slum [and reservation] pupils organize themselves into a cohesive society" which is anti-school establishment.

> The gulf between educators and pupils is deepened by differences in language or dialect of English. The children are subjected to courses designed to teach them a dialect of English that is considered 'correct' by pedagogues, but since few of the latter have any skill in linguistics or have the assistance of . . . electronic equipment .... the course-work is usually more productive of classroom tension than of learning.

The monocultural Anglo-American school is not merely alien to the cultural realities of many regions and communities, but it may well serve as a major <u>cause</u> for tensions which thwart the avowed educational goals of the school and at the same time produce "alumni" unfitted for participation in <u>any</u> culture.

What have been the reactions of minority groups to the "little Anglo schoolhouse"? For many years, the typical school was both Anglo-American <u>and</u> Protestant. This type of school was rejected by Irish and other Roman Catholics in favor of a separate school system, many schools of which had (and still have) an Irish, Polish or other ethnic flavor. Still other groups, such as Finns and Swedes, took over the public schools in areas where they were predominant and altered their character somewhat. Oriental and Jewish-Americans either set up their own schools or, more commonly, established supplementary schools where Chinese language and culture, Japanese language and culture, or Hebrew language and culture would be made available to the youth of the community. Afro-American, Indian, and Mexican-American groups have sometimes done the same thing, but usually on

an informal folk-group or "ad hoc" basis.

The trend, in other words, is clear. Group after group has been forced to establish its "own" educational institution and, in effect, repudiate the public schools. The only limitations upon this development have been the group's economic and educational ability and the receptivity of the local public school to multi-cultural reality. To establish one's own schools demands adequate financing and the availability of suitable teachers, but it also depends upon the existence of demonstrated need. Where the public school comes under the control of a non-Anglo group, or where a spirit of cosmopolitanism develops for one reason or another, the separate supplementary school may be deemed superfluous. In much of the United States, unfortunately, educational cosmopolitanism has never "arrived" and separate educational programs flourish.

Community-Relevant Schools

It is quite common nowadays for writers to assert, as Conant does, that

> the nature of the community largely determines what goes on in the school. Therefore, to attempt to divorce the school from the community is to engage in unrealistic thinking. . . . The community and the school are inseparable.

Likewise, it is the fashion to stress the establishment of "rapport" between the school and its clients in order to enhance pupil motivation. Frank E. Karlsen, vice-president of the Public Education Association and a member of the National Advisory Council

for the Education of Disadvantaged Children, states:

> The most important element in the education of a child is the rapport between the child and the teacher. The parent-teacher relationship is vital to the development of the rapport. It is imperative to the educative process that parents and schools establish a close and on-going working relationship (The New York Times, Oct. 17, 1966, p. 34).

The council of which Karelsen is a member found that the most important single factor which distinguished successful summer "compensatory" programs from those that failed "was the difference in the quality of the relationship--the rapport--between teacher and child" (The New York Times, Dec. 1, 1966, p. 38). Conant states: "Above all, the total school experience should be such, if possible, to anchor the boy's or girl's interest in the school and in improving his or her capacity through education."

But how does one make "inseparable" the non-Anglo "community" and the Anglo-dominated school? How does one establish "rapport" between students and teachers essentially at war with each other's values? The Waxes and Dumont suggest:

> The test of the school is not what its masters teach, but rather the atmosphere it creates, such that children do learn the significant subject matters from each other instead of devoting their energies principally to the inhibition of scholarly learning. . . . one crucial condition for the creation of this educational atmosphere [is] namely a relationship of mutual respect between teachers and pupils. . . .

Goodwin Watson ("Forward" to Frank Riessman's The Culturally Deprived Child, Harper & Row, 1962) states that the starting point for improving the teaching of urban slum children is respect. "Nothing else that we have to give will help very much if it is

offered with a resentful, contemptuous, or patronizing attitude."

The Waxes and Dumont provide an example of how "respect" and understanding might help:

> If educational specialists were thoroughly familiar with Sioux culture and willing to improvise experimental programs with the children and their parents, they might be able to devise educational materials and techniques that would result in high rates of scholastic achievement. . . . [At present] the educators believe the Sioux children are so lacking in culture that they cannot master scholastic materials, and the children regard the teachers and their subject matters as "White" and hence legitimate targets of their hostility and indifference.

Anthropologists at a recent (1966) meeting of the American Anthropological Association

> disputed the widespread assumption that children from poor neighborhoods had such limited cultural resources that they almost inevitably would achieve low grades in school. Instead, they argued that school should make more vigorous efforts to bring out the rich heritage of folk culture, especially among Negro and Puerto Rican children. This heritage is often hemmed in . . . by classroom conditions that are too impersonal or geared to the standards of children from more affluent homes (The New York Times, Nov. 19, 1966, p. 22).

This position would seem to be borne out by a recent study of language in the Pittsburgh slums which revealed that slum children there used 3,200 words, including idioms, not recognized by their teachers or by educational tests. The creation of these idioms is illustrative of the cultural vitality (and cultural separateness) or the urban poor, and offers a challenge for those teachers who can translate the slum language into formal linguistic channels (Reno Evening Gazette, Aug. 24, 1966, p. 28).

The Association on American Indian Affairs Education Committee

has proposed that "far greater emphasis" be placed "on Indian values and history [in order] to give the children pride in their own race." The Association's director, William Byler, also called for "turning control of schools over to the various Indian tribes as long as they meet state and federal educational requirements" (The New York Times, Nov. 21, 1966, p. 38).

> Frank E. Karlsen, cited earlier, has proposed that
>
> at the policy making level, parents must be represented in the over-all planning for the school in a joint planning board composed of an equal representation of parents and professional staff [but he would reserve control over personnel and curriculum to the professional staff].

In a similar vein, Sargent Shriver has called for the creation of "neighborhood councils and community associations, outside of parent-teacher groups, that would get parents involved in the activities of every public school."

Meanwhile, a few public schools are trying to establish "rapport" with parents and pupils by following a multi-cultural program. Public School No. 1, on the border of New York's Chinatown, is such an "intercultural school." "We want to teach our children not to be ashamed of their group's own culture but to be proud of it," asserts Dr. Toby K. Kurzband, the school's principal since 1958. Almost half of the school's population is of Chinese background, about one-third are Puerto Rican, one-fifth are Negro, and one-tenth are Caucasian. A "Puerto Rican Week" has been developed and similar "celebrations" are planned "to stress the cultural values of other ethnic groups." Many of the teachers are of non-Caucasian origin and one of them,

Pun-sun Soo, is a "Chinese auxiliary teacher" who is supposed to help "establish contacts with Chinese parents" (The New York Times, Dec. 3, 1966, p. 41).

Minority Group Viewpoints

The minority groups themselves have very definite ideas about how the school should react to multicultural situations. Mrs. Adelina Toledo Defender, a twenty-six year old Jemez Pueblo woman speaks for many Indians when she states in Indian Voices (August, 1966):

> First of all and most important of all is to understand the cultural background of our wonderful Indian students. . . . Most teachers may not be aware of it, but most do discriminate against the Indian child. Most feel that here is a hopeless individual; this child cannot be educated. . . . His culture is difficult to understand, so the only beneficial action is to advance him onward whether he is capable or not. This is when discrimination arises because the teacher is trying to see the Indian child in the sense of his own values.

Mrs. Defender urges, among other things, that

> The Indian children should study Indian life. Pictorially in the first and second grades. Indian legends will create in the fresh minds of our Indian children the beauty of his culture. The fourth up to the ninth grades should have books on Indian history and legends presented to them as a required subject, and as part of their citizenship, in the high school level.

Finally, she states:

> The present system of teaching must not be effective for the results are so apparent. . . . There is much illiteracy on the reservations when there is no need. The difficulty does not lie in the lack of funds, but in the function of the educational system.

Mexican-American leaders, gathered together at the Southwest Conference on "Social and Educational Problems of Rural and Urban

Mexican-American Youth" (Occidental College, April 6, 1963) urged among other things:

> (1) Bilingual children, or those whose cultural heritage is different from that of the broader community, must have special understanding and specialized course offerings in order that they may have successful learning experiences:'
>
> (2) the child's home vernacular (Spanish) should be considered a linguistic asset and not a 'language handicap;
>
> (3) schools should teach both English and Spanish in the elementary grades, [and
>
> (4) that the school develop] a program to stimulate greater pride and understanding of the cultural heritage of the Mexican-American child.

From San Francisco to New York Negro parents and community leaders are compaigning for integrated schools, where feasible, and "quality education" everywhere. The programs being proposed vary from region to region but usually include a demand for course-work in Negro and African history, greater use of material illustrating Afro-American life and culture, Negro principals in at least some schools, and greater participation in overall school planning. In some areas, such as Harlem, Negro parents have been demanding virtual control of their "own" schools, in a manner similar to the wishes of many American Indians.

Theoretically, public education in the United States is "democratic" and responsive to community needs. In fact, however, the Anglo-American has come to control the schools almost everywhere, either because of numerical superiority in a school district, gerrymandering of seats on the school board, control of the state

educational apparatus, or simply because of the power and influence of the Anglo educational establishment. American Indian children either go to schools controlled by a federal bureaucracy or by local white school boards. Negroes are either barred from control over their "own" schools by state action, as in parts of the South, or are a minority in a large metropolitan school district. Mexican-Americans are in a position similar to the urban Negro, except in rural areas of the Southwest where they are, as of yet, submissive even when in a numerical majority. And the same is true of most other minority groups: most educators are not obligated, powerwise, to serve their interests, and the non-Anglos have little voice in educational affairs. New York State Education Commissioner, James E. Allen, Jr., has frankly asserted that "most state education departments are geared to meet the needs of rural (white) children rather than those of big city slum areas because of the past orientation of state educational and legislative organs (The New York Times, Nov. 28, 1966, p. 1)."

But Anglo-American educators and school trustees can no longer afford to ignore the demands of the culturally different. The "social dynamite" represented by dissident, undereducated groups can explode in such a manner as to harm the interests of even the powerful and the affluent. Thus self-interest demands that educators seek out ways to motivate minority group children and the path to motivation would seem to travel through the realm of mutual respect and intercultural understanding.

General Principles for Educational Program Development

I would propose the following set of propositions as fundamental bases for corrective action:

(1) Each school must be responsive to the needs and interests of the community which it serves;

(2) All sectors of the community must have a voice in educational planning and policy-making;

(3) The school must concentrate upon essential learning and dispense with irrelevant attacks upon the cultural values of minority groups;

(4) Freedom, tolerance, and cosmopolitanism must above all be exhibited by school people as an example for the youth and adults of the community;

(5) The cultural assets of the community and the skills of minority group persons be utilized as a positive educational force by the school (i.e., mariachi music taught in the school by local Mexican musicians);

(6) The curricula of our schools should vary from region to region in order to reflect the rich diversity of American life;

(7) Bilingualism should be regarded as not merely an asset, but as a necessity in the twentieth century, and all pupils should be expected to master at least two languages in the elementary grades (Spanish and English in the Southwest and New York City; Chinese and English or Japanese and English in the San Francisco Bay area, et cetera); and

(8) All teachers and administrators be required to receive training of an anthropological-sociological nature and be expected to possess or acquire the linguistic skills necessary for communication with local students and their parents.

What would the implementation of these general principles mean in practice? It would mean that no longer could Sioux or Navajo children be "processed" at the whim of federal officials who ignore

local community desires, or be "taught" by monolingual English-speaking teachers bent on destroying the cultural heritage of native Americans. It would mean that schools serving Mexican-American pupils could have a Mexican flavor and a flourishing bilingual atmosphere. It would mean that black ghetto schools would have an Afro-American dimension, from mosaics on the walls to, very possibly, formal instruction in urban Negro dialect and advanced courses in Swahili, Yoruba, or Arabic. No more identical structures of cement and steel without character, and no more mass-production of a single culture and language under the guidance of educators conforming one to another as two peas in a pod! We need to render impossible the kind of situation described by Dianne Gannon (Liberation, July, 1966):

> The Harlem child comes to school and discovers that the school is not about life as he knows it at all. It doesn't have pictures of the kinds of people he knows. It doesn't help him develop the skills he needs for the world in which he lives. . . . The world of school is irrelevant at best. It forces an alien linguistic and learning style on him, and if he cannot make the adjustment of being one person in school and another in Harlem, it abandons him to the street. . . . The school is a harshly foreign institution, and the Harlem child reacts pretty much like the Indian child at the government school, or like a conquered people. School is a waiting game, an endurance contest.

Moshe Smilansky, writing in the Saturday Review (October 15, 1966) on Israel, states that for educational programs aimed at the "culturally deprived" to succeed two conditions are necessary: "The child must have a clear picture of the meaning of the school, and the home must give its support to the school." He goes on to add that:

For the home to be able to give its support to the school, the

> school must: (a) accept the home as a home; (b) try to understand and support its particular functions; (c) not try to change the home or to undermine it; and (d) seek a union with the home at the point of common concern - the successful progress of the child in school." (Italics added.)

School people in the United States, if they intend to deal successfully with education of the culturally different must abandon their irrelevant attack upon the culture of these populations. The function of our public schools should be to help individuals develop their own potentiality for self-realization and not to serve as an instrument for semi-coercive culture change. The educational goal and the culture change goal ("assimilation") are fundamentally contradictory and antagonistic. To concentrate upon forcing change is to create the kind of withdrawal, hostility, and alienation described earlier, and learning of a desirable sort will usually cease.

Democracy and Multi-Culturalism

The argument for culturally heterogeneous schools is not totally dependent upon pedagogical needs, however. Any society which gives a high value to democracy and individual freedom cannot consistently utilize the school as an instrument of enforced culture change. What kind of a democracy would utilize public schools to suppress the heritage of a minority simply because it is a minority (or because it lacks power)? What kind of a free society can use the schools as a means to diminish individual freedom and enforce conformity?

Transmitting the Full Heritage of Americans

Finally, and perhaps most significantly of all, creating a system of mass-produced monocultural schools is not merely damaging to the self-confidence and self-knowledge of students drawn from the various cultural and racial minority groups. Majority group pupils are being cheated in our schools when they master only one language, when they learn about only one side of American history, when they are exposed to only one musical tradition, when they read only one kind of literature, when they learn only one approach to the visual arts, and when they are exposed to a curriculum which has no deep roots in the soil of their region and in America (roots which should extend back 20,000 years, as well as back to St. Augustine and Santa Fe, New Orleans, and Vincennes).

Is it foolish to suggest that all American students should be expected to do what every Navajo child in the elementary grades is expected to do, i.e., thoroughly master a new language? And why not a second new language in the secondary grades? Is it naive to think that pupils in the Southwest should become thoroughly immersed in the Indian-Spanish-Mexican heritage of that region, or that pupils in Louisiana should be given special access to an understanding of the Indian-French-African heritage of that state?

The problem of educating the culturally different is, then,

the problem of educating <u>all</u> pupils in such a way that the school is both relevant to the individual and to the <u>full</u> heritage of the region and of the nation. True education is always cross-cultural and always cosmopolitan. Perhaps we have now arrived at a stage of sophistication sufficient to allow us to proceed with education and to dispense with a fixation upon conformity and Anglo-American superiority. But if this is the case, it will demand a radical change in the fundamental orientation of most schools, and this in turn will demand intensive analysis, experimentation, demonstration, and leadership on the part of innovative educational agencies.

Bibliographical Essay

I. Sources on the Education of Culturally Different and Low-Income Groups

The educational problems posed by culturally different and low-income populations are neither uniquely confined to the United States nor to this century. Virtually all complex societies have possessed heterogeneous populations, beginning with the cosmopolitan, multi-lingual empires of the mediterranean-mesopotamian-Indian subcontinent region. In ancient times Buddhist teachers, to cite one example of early cross-cultural education, traveled throughout south and east Asia, encountering many diverse languages and cultures. Similarly, low-income populations have frequently possessed their own viable educational systems (as in Vietnam before the French conquest) or have participated in successful mass education programs (as in the great period of Islamic civilization prior to the fifteenth century).

At the present time most of the world's nation-states possess cultural and linguistic minorities, including Great Britain, France, Spain, Switzerland, the Soviet Union, China, India, Mexico, New Zealand, and Canada (to name but a few). Most such states also possess low-income groups.

Ideally, a guide to studies in the area of the education of culturally different and low-income groups should be international and comparative in approach, but little is available at this time

which transcends national or even sub-national ethnic boundaries. The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) does publish items such as World Survey of Education and the International Yearbook of Education, as well as monographs on particular topics. Catalogues or lists of material available from UNESCO can be obtained from UNESCO Publications Center, 317 East 34th Street, New York 10016.

Information or possibly bibliographies may be obtained from countries such as New Zealand (Maori education), Mexico (bi-lingual education for native groups), and Israel (programs for low-income and culturally different groups) by writing to their respective ministries of education.

Bibliographies are more readily available for studies conducted in the United States. Elinor F. McCloskey's Urban Disadvantaged Pupils (Northwest Regional Laboratory, 710 S. W. Second Ave., Portland Oregon) contains a list of ninety-nine studies and books dealing primarily with the education of low-income urban pupils. The United States Office of Education, Educational Materials Center, has available The Education of Disadvantaged Children: A Bibliography. This bibliography is not exhaustive but it does contain lists of some of the professional studies available as well as teacher guides and reports published by local school districts and state departments of education.

The Harvard Research and Development Center on Educational Differences has published an Annotated Bibliography on School Racial

Mix and the Self Concept, Aspirations, Academic Achievement and Interracial Attitudes and Behavior of Negro Children (Monograph No. 3, Harvard Research and Development Center on Educational Differences, Cambridge, Massachusetts). This is a valuable compilation of educational research pertinent to Negro education along with relevant socio-psychological studies. The Research Annual on Inter-Group Relations (Anti-Defamation League) also is a good source of information relating to minority group research currently in progress.

Several bibliographies of research reports and books dealing with American Indian education, and therefore relevant to the education of all culturally different populations, have been issued. One, prepared by the staff of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, is being distributed by the National Research Conference on American Indian Education, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania (this is a limited quantity publication and large numbers of copies may not be available). Another was prepared by Harry F. Wolcott of the Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon (this is likewise a limited quantity publication).

Urban Education, an Annotated Bibliography together with Supplement I has been issued by Project True, Hunter College, New York (1963). Integrated Education Associates, Chicago, Illinois, has published Meyer Weinberg's Research on School Desegregation: Review and Prospect which summarizes research as of 1965 pertinent

to the subjects of segregation and integration. The Information Retrieval Center on the Disadvantaged, Yeshiva University, New York has issued a bibliography relating to the "disadvantaged" (IRCD Bulletin 1, September, 1965).

Miles V. Zintz' Education Across Cultures (Brown Book Co., Dubuque, Iowa) contains an extensive bibliography of books and articles pertinent to the education of minority and low-income groups while Jack D. Forbes' Mexican-Americans: A Handbook for Educators (Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, Berkeley, California) adds a few additional items relating to Mexican-American education. Forbes' Afro-Americans in the Far West: A Handbook for Educators possesses an extensive bibliography on black Americans. Other works dealing with minority group education will normally also possess bibliographies of value.

Many journals contain articles and book reviews pertinent to this area, including Human Organization, Current Anthropology, Social Problems, Social Issues, Social Forces, Sociology and Social Research, UNESCO Courier, Journal of Negro Education, Journal of American Indian Education, Sociology and Social Research, Integrated Education, Journal of Human Relations, Phylon, and Journal of Sociology of Education, in addition to standard educational periodicals and publications such as Daedalus and Saturday Review. The vast amount of research data being accumulated in this area will ultimately be available in a more manageable form from ERIC (Educational Research Information Center). Currently available is a monthly summary of educational research

projects supported by Office of Education funds (Research in Education) and Catalog of Selected Documents on the Disadvantaged: A Number and Author Index (OE-37001, 65¢) and Subject Index (OE-37002, $3). The latter two items are available from the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402.

The several published bibliographies cited above are, taken together, quite comprehensive. The reader may wish also to consult works referenced in the section which follows in order to obtain insight into the educational problems resulting from coercive or rapid culture change induced by conquest.

II. Sources Dealing With the Effects of Conquest, Colonialism and Culture Change

Educators who desire a full understanding of the complexities involved in the position of the non-white populations in the United States will wish to acquire some familiarity with the effects of conquest, colonialism, and culture change occuring within colonial or quasi-colonial contexts. Not only will an understanding of post-conquest and decolonialization phenomena provide a fuller comprehension of many aspects of non-white cultures, but it will help to provide insight into the ideological basis for much of the "revolutionary" strategy currently popular among urban black radicals, (e.g., the idea that violence or violent struggle is a necessary step in the psychological liberation of a colonialized people).

Basic to an understanding of black radical thinking is Frantz

Fanon's The Wretched of the Earth (New York: Grove Press, 1966). Fanon, born in Martinique of African background and trained in France as a doctor specializing in mental disorders, joined the Algerian rebels rather than serve with the French army. He literally gave his life to the cause of Algerian independence, dying of cancer at the age of thirty-six in 1961. The Wretched of the Earth, which provides an understanding of the psychological as well as socio-political effects of conquest and "national liberation" processes, was written in Fanon's last year of life. It should be read prior to reading the preface by Jean-Paul Sartre, in this writer's opinion, since Sartre somewhat distorts Fanon's message.

Other sources useful in terms of introducing a person to this area of study include:

Balandier, Georges, Ambiguous Africa: Cultures in Collision (New York: Pantheon, 1966). A specialist in African sociology explores the problems of decolonialization, revealing in the process many of the effects of conquest.

Forbes, Jack D., The Indian in America's Past (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1964). Includes chapters, such as "The Conquered" and "Red Slavery," which illustrate some of the effects of conquest and colonialization.

Frazier, E. Franklin, Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965). A basic introduction to modern interethnic relations involving conquest and colonialism. Frazier's footnotes will guide the reader to many other sources.

Josephson, Eric and Mary, editors, Man Alone: Alienation in Modern Society (New York: Dell, 1962). Deals with many aspects of alienation including that resulting from inter-ethnic confrontations.

Kardiner, Abram and Lionel Ovesey, The Mark of Oppression (New York: Norton, 1951). Explores the psychological effects of denigration.

Maunier, Rene, The Sociology of Colonies (London, Routledge & Paul, 1949).

Memmi, Albert, The Colonizer and the Colonized (New York: Orion Press, 1965).

Price, A. Grenville, White Settlers and Native Peoples (Cambridge: University Press, 1950). A comparative study of European-native relations in such areas as North America, Australia, and New Zealand.

Turnbull, Colin, The Lonely African (New York: Doubleday, 1962). An excellent portrayal of the effects of conquest as revealed in a number of life-histories.

More technical interests may be served by the following works, dealing with acculturation and culture change.

Malinowski's many studies and especially The Dynamics of Culture Change; Beal's "Acculturation" (in Kroeber, Anthropology Today); Hunter's Reaction to Conquest: Effects of Contact with Europeans on the Pondo of South Africa; Rivers' Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia; Herskovitz' various works including Acculturation: A Study of Culture Contact; Redfield's The Primitive World and Its Transformations (and his specific studies of the Maya); and Methods of Study of Culture Contact in Africa.

During the last two decades a large body of literature relating to socio-cultural change and mental illness has developed. Much of this literature is theoretical in nature or is based upon insights gained in clinical psychology or in socio-anthropological field studies. Of the more general works relating to this subject, the following are cited to illustrate this growing body of literature: the many studies of Wallace including his general Culture and

Personality and his more technical "Stress and Rapid Personality Changes" (International Record of Medicine, v. 169, 1956), "Revitalization Movements" (American Anthropologist, v. 58, 1956), and "Mazeway Disintegration: The Individual's Perception of Sociocultural Disorganization" (Human Organization, v. 16, 1957); Leighton, Clausen and Wilson, Explorations in Social Psychiatry; Ruesch, et al, "Acculturation and Illness" (Psychological Monographs, v. 62, 1948); Beaglehele, "Cultural Complexity and Psychological Problems" (in Mullahy, A Study of Interpersonal Relations); Benedict, "Mental Illness in Primitive Societies" (Psychiatry, v. 17, 1954); Thompson, "Attitudes and Acculturation" (American Anthropologist, v. 50, 1948); Mead's "The Implications of Culture Change for Personality Development" American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, v. 17, 1947) and various other studies; Hallowell's "Values, Acculturation and Mental Health" (American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, v. 20, 1950) and other articles: Kardiner's several works; Spicer, Human Problems in Technological Change; Linton's The Cultural Background of Personality and Culture and Mental Disorders; Malzberg, Migration and Mental Disease; Kluckhohn and Murray, Personality in Nature, Society and Culture; and M. K. Opler's Culture, Psychiatry and Human Values and other works.

A number of specific studies are referred to or reported upon in the above sources, but others are contained in such works as Opler's Culture and Mental Health. Many monographic articles and books are also pertinent--they range from Caudill, "Japanese-American Personality and Acculturation" (Genetic Psychology Monographs, v. 45,

1952), and Tooth, Studies in Mental Illness in the Gold Coast; to Bakke, Citizens Without Work.

Studies of "alienation" are often relevant to socio-cultural change, as for example, Erikson, "Identity and Uprootedness in Our Time" (in Uprooting and Resettlement), and "Symposium of Alienation and the Search for Identity" (American Journal of Psychoanalysis, v. 21, 1961).

Socio-psychological studies of native American peoples may also be pertinent. Spicer's Cycles of Conquest is of value in dealing with acculturation, conquest, and resistance to conquest. Also of import to those desiring a comparative knowledge of the socio-psychological effects of conquest-induced culture change are such works as Kluckhohn and Leighton, The Navaho; Macgregor, Warriors Without Weapons; Linton, editor, Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes; Redfield's "Culture Change in Yucatan" (American Anthropologist, v. 36, 1934) and other studies; Hallowell, "Ojibwa: Personality and Acculturation" (Proceedings, International Congress of Americanists, v. 29, 1952); Wallace, "Some Psychological Determinants of Culture Change in an Iroquoian Community" (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 149, 1951); and Spindler, editor, Socio-cultural and Psychological Processes in Menominee Acculturation.